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FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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NIETZSCHE AND GOETHE

A Comparative Estimate

BY W. L. GRAFF

THE COMPARISON of two men is not without its pitfalls. It is apt to result in a one-sided characterization because neither their similarities nor their contrasts are likely to exhaust the essentials of their personality. Moreover, it must stress those peculiarities in the two men which happen to overlap and those which happen to be mutually exclusive. The ensuing picture will be a "partial" one, in the two meanings of the word. Light and shadow will be more or less unevenly distributed.

But it is such partiality necessarily an evil? After all, our appraisals are never absolute; they are inevitably dependent upon a yardstick. Complete impartiality and a perfect perspective are not always ideals to be striven for, not to speak of the impossibility of attaining them. A maple presents a different appearance in a grove and on a front lawn. It adds to our appreciation of the tree to see it placed in different settings which underline different aspects. Is it not permitted to steal a leaf out of nature's book and to view one person in the light of another, even at the risk of offending temporarily our sense of proportion? The claim that such a procedure is deceptive is not quite to the point. It is not meant to be comprehensive. The physiognomies of Nietzsche and of Goethe change according as we observe them in the light of each other or in that of Kant or Schiller. But it is illuminating to see them against different backgrounds, providing we remember to make the necessary adjustments of general perspective.

I know of no other writer besides Nietzsche whose ultimate

* FRONTISPIECE: *Fishing on a Snowy Day.* A painting on silk, in color, much faded. Lent by the Chinese Government. It is ascribed to the Five Dynasties but is probably rather later. Courtesy of the International Exhibit of Chinese Art, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

thoughts and theories are so uncannily distant from their harmless source and fundamental premises as to make it almost unbelievable that such mountains could have been born of such a mouse. It is enough to mention such slogans as "Radical Atheism," "A Race of Supermen," "A Different Morality for the Great from that of the Poor," "Down with Christian Pity and Altruism," "A Life beyond Good and Evil," "Democracy is a Sign of Decadence," "The Emancipation of Woman is a Crime against Humanity," in order to realize how wicked they are in the eyes of our modern civilization. Yet, these sensational catchwords, by which Nietzsche is too often judged and condemned, are in the last analysis nothing but projections of a pure and noble soul yearning for a better world of beauty and perfection. They do not represent the core of his thought, but rather lie at its periphery. While Goethe's name suggests "moderation" and "measure," the keynote in Nietzsche's characterization is "intensity." When Nietzsche and Goethe start out from similar positions, the whole of Nietzsche eventually lands in the stratosphere, whereas Goethe's feet are still solidly planted on the ground although his head may touch the clouds.

Few people deny that in German literature and cultural outlook Goethe occupies a central place. Since his appearance on the scene no cultural movement of any importance, no writer or artist has been completely unaware of the form and meaning which Goethe has given to the cultural pattern into which every German after him is born. This in spite of the partial truth contained in Nietzsche's saying that "Goethe is an incident in German history without consequences." There are those who repudiate his "Weltanschauung" theoretically, some who feel that his genius has been greatly overestimated, and a few who would like to ignore altogether his decisive contribution to German cultural life, but in practice there is no escaping the multitudinous threads that emanate from the "Frauenplan" at Weimar and radiate wherever the German word is spoken or understood. In fact, Goethe like Nietzsche, although for different reasons, presents so many facets that the romanticist as well as the classicist, the realist and the idealist, the revolutionary and the reactionary, the friend of the people as well as the aristocrat, the Christian as well as the pagan, the nationalist and the cosmopolitan have little difficulty in finding in his works passages which will sup-

port their own theories. "Hast du etwas vonnöthen, so geh zu Goethen" is the familiar, somewhat cynical saying.

Some describe this universality of Goethe by what they call his eclecticism, his panoramic view. But let us beware of attaching too superficial a meaning to these terms. Goethe's eclecticism is not that of a mere erudite with encyclopaedic information; it is the eclecticism of one whose personality touches at many vital points the very core of humanity. Put almost any name, famous in the world of German literature or thought, in juxtaposition with that of Goethe, and at once the combinations become not only plausible, but most fruitful parallelisms for consideration, because Goethe acts as a sort of prism through which each of the other personalities is broken into its iridescent qualities. At any rate, it is an inspiring experience to examine Nietzsche in the light of Goethe, whether we wish to appraise the characteristics of the former or those of the latter. Not that Nietzsche has at any time plagiarized from Goethe or even deliberately exploited the wealth of his thought. Even where he acknowledges outright his indebtedness to other thinkers, such as Schopenhauer for example, Nietzsche is much too personal, much too original to be able to copy or merely to work out somebody else's wisdom. But in spite of the sharp contrasts in mood and temperament, there exists between Nietzsche and Goethe a genuine affinity of thought and ideals. The medium in which Nietzsche's thought naturally thrives contains an amazingly large number of elements peculiar to Goethe.

From a biographical point of view, it is true, there appears to be hardly anything but contrast. Goethe's home surroundings were on the whole mundane. Neither his father nor his mother is known to have possessed any overdose of religious enthusiasm, in spite of the fact that their son had to submit to the conventional amount of religious instruction. The greatest influence exerted on young Goethe in this respect was perhaps that of his famous "schöne Seele," the pietistic Miss von Klettenberg. Nietzsche, on the other hand, was born into a family of Protestant clergymen, both on his father's and on his mother's side. Concern with dogmatic and especially with ethical problems was his natural inheritance, whereas to Goethe these problems only suggested themselves as occasional and speculative ones among many others. It is almost true to say that Goethe

had lived a life beyond good and evil, before Nietzsche rationalized and preached it.

Nor was Goethe submitted to much strict discipline during his boyhood. All his pre-university education was acquired rather playfully at home, while the six years which Nietzsche spent at Schulpforta, the German Eton, were years of stern control and of serious study along humanistic lines. Even at Leipzig and Strassburg Goethe chose his subjects most freely and devoted a good deal more time to poetry, literature, and art than to those disciplines of law in which he was to graduate. When a president of the University of Jena recently recommended Goethe as an inspiring ideal to the entering students, he felt impelled to surround his recommendation with all sorts of cautious reservations, warning them not to claim for themselves the freedom of the genius too quickly. But again, Nietzsche plunged earnestly and deeply into the study of classical philology, both at the University of Bonn and at that of Leipzig. He was only twenty-four years of age when his scholarly contributions attracted the attention of the authorities of the University of Basel. To be sure, when he was a student, he, too, took part in various extra-curricular activities, even to the point of laying the foundation for his subsequent aversion for nicotine and alcohol. But compared to Goethe's jovial and prankish youth, Nietzsche's was decidedly oriented toward the serious. Goethe's contacts with different layers of society, with all sorts of manifestations of life, were far broader, far more variegated than Nietzsche's.

From his early boyhood to his old age, Goethe's life was studded with colorful episodes of love, each of which became artistically inspiring and fruitful. In Nietzsche's life women and natural erotic relationships seem to have played a decidedly minor part. That he was capable of and thirsting for deep and passionate love, however, is clearly realized by all those who care to analyze his biological and psychic constitution; it is amply illustrated by his romantic adoration of Schopenhauer, who was dead, and by his erotically colored enthusiasm for Richard Wagner, who was living but much older. Both attachments appeared for a time undivided and absolute, although strongly intellectual and idealistic. What Nietzsche loved in them was his ideal type of the perfect man, his instinctively emerging image of the superman. Goethe's Eros, an artistic force "par

excellence," was directed primarily toward the plastic forms of life; Nietzsche's Eros yearned for some musical, idealistic, and philosophic incarnation. But it is with the same feeling of nostalgia that Nietzsche thinks all his life of the Arcadian days spent in the company of Wagner at Triebschen, and that Goethe is haunted by the memories of Sesenheim. And it is also the same blind destiny which drives them both away from their object of love in order that they may remain true to their own genius.

And can there be a greater contrast than that between Goethe, who at the age of twenty-six was whirled into the profane court-life at Weimar, and Nietzsche who at the age of twenty-four was appointed professor of Classical Philology at Basel University? During his first ten years at Weimar Goethe was at times the master of pleasure and entertainment at the court of a young prince who revelled in everything that is of this earth; at times he was a responsible officer in the administration of the Duchy; continuously he refreshed himself at the fountain of love at the house of Frau von Stein or explored the sinuous world of the Eternal Feminine in a variety of other ways; and all the time he clung close to nature, trying to understand the secret language of the universe in which he lived. During the ten years of his professional career Nietzsche led an almost monastical life in the austere cloisters of a Swiss institution for higher learning, drifting more and more away from philology into the channels of psychology and ethics. When Goethe went to Weimar, he had to his credit some fine poems, his *Goetz von Berlichingen,* and especially his *Werther* which spread his name all over Europe. When Nietzsche went to Basel, he was utterly unknown outside of a small circle of professional philologists. Goethe's release from his administrative duties at Weimar is paralleled by Nietzsche's retirement from the educational life at the university; but during his sojourn in Italy Goethe abandoned himself more than ever to the world of living forms, while Nietzsche seems to have detached himself steadily from the world of phenomena in order to work out his own world of dreams and thoughts.

It is also most characteristic that Goethe eventually settled down in Weimar, where he was surrounded by things which he owned and cherished, by men and women whom he respected or loved. Nietzsche on the contrary never owned a home, but wandered rest-

lessly back and forth from Switzerland to Italy, from Italy to Germany, from Germany to the Riviera, from one city to another, living in simple rooms often without a stove, and trailing his boxes of books and his ever growing piles of manuscripts with him. Hardly anybody shared his thoughts outside of the blue Italian sky, the serene peaks of the Engadine or the grey German clouds. Because Goethe was wise enough to adopt the world, and to fit himself into it without jeopardizing the development of his own glorious personality, the world bowed to him: he had more friends than he liked, more admirers than he could endure. Nietzsche's famous loneliness is, indeed, a tragic and awe-inspiring spectacle. At Bonn he lost his student friends when he proposed a reform of the rules of the students' association to which he belonged. His friends, the philologists, including his beloved master Ritschl, became estranged from him because in his book entitled *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* he interpreted Greek tragedy and Greek culture in a manner not sanctioned by professional technique. He moved away from his friends, the philosophers, Deussen and other adherents of Schopenhauer and Kant, because he soon was no longer satisfied with Schopenhauer's pessimistic and Christian outlook, while Kant's categoric imperatives, his analyzing and systematic "philosophy of the back-doors" became a particularly chosen target for his attacks. He lost his friends, the Wagnerians, and above all the great Wagner himself, because the erstwhile eulogist eventually discovered that in Wagner, too, so many things were only human, all too human: his romantic flirting with mysticism, his yielding to the acclamations of the crowd, his fatal relapse into Christian morphology. Nietzsche lost the sympathetic understanding of his colleagues at Basel, of Overbeck and Burkhardt. When Burkhardt had read Nietzsche's *Dawn of the Day*, he wrote: "I read like an old man, with a feeling of vertigo," and Erwin Rohde of Leipzig did not so much as acknowledge the receipt of the book. Dr. Rée, for a long time the supplementing Mephisto to Nietzsche, was rejected in due time because he was too realistic and dialectic. Nietzsche was profoundly disappointed in that adventurous bluestocking, the Russian Jewess, Lou Salomé, who had been sent to him as a promising disciple but who proved to lack true understanding of her master's genius. For a time at least he lost confidence even in his sister, his lama, when

she had decided to marry the Anti-Semite Foerster and to follow him to Paraguay. At the time when Nietzsche finished his fourth part of *Zarathustra,* his publisher wrote to him that the public simply would not read his aphorisms, and poor Nietzsche had to have his manuscript printed at his own expense in a limited edition of 40 copies. So lonely was he at that time that he could think of only seven people to whom he might send a copy, and not all of them might go to the trouble of reading it. It is true, Nietzsche insists that he is proud of not being appreciated, especially by his German compatriots, considering that the greatness of a man can only be measured by the centuries required for his being understood. But at bottom, he yearned for friendship, for complete, true, absolute friendship, and he wanted to be heard by the world, even if it were only to be misunderstood and criticized. The complete and glacial silence with which his works were eventually received, nearly drove him mad and was partly responsible for the ever-increasing intensity of his shocking paradoxes and thunderbolts.

Many cannot forgive Goethe for the diplomatic caution with which he seemed to acknowledge the existing order of things and of society, while in more than one respect he thought and felt very much like Nietzsche about his compatriots and their philistine ideals. They prefer the Goethe, who in his rare moments of spontaneous indignation threw diplomacy to the winds and whose words could then strike with a directness worthy in every sense of Nietzsche. They forget, however, that Goethe's caution was anything but insincere or hypocritical. His compromising attitude on one hand and his feeling of superior greatness on the other were both deeply rooted in the instincts of his personality. Without either of these qualities Goethe could not be Goethe. Two of his favorite figures are Anteus and Euphorion. Anteus, the giant born of the Earth, unconquerable as long as his feet are on the ground but powerless as soon as Hercules succeeds in lifting him up; Euphorion, the winged son of Achilles and Helena, who flies toward the sun only to crash to the ground, blinded and scorched. Anteus is Goethe the conqueror, Goethe realized; Euphorion is the conquered Goethe, the potential Goethe, as realized more permanently in men like Byron or Nietzsche. It would be easy to argue that Nietzsche was more courageous than Goethe because he undoubtedly faced the greater dangers. But

would it be equally easy to decide which of the two attitudes required greater strength of character: that of Nietzsche who dared to challenge the world without any regard of consequences but who in so doing allowed his Dionysian passion free play, or that of Goethe whose great aim was to subdue all those forces tending to the infinite and who thus succeded in surpassing his time without offending it too recklessly?

Another biographical fact which stresses the peculiar contrast between Nietzsche and Goethe is that the latter enjoyed, by and large, the benefits of continuous and solid health, whereas Nietzsche did not. Nietzsche served in the German army twice: once in peace time when he was enlisted as an artilleryman, and a fall from his horse injured his chest; and once at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war when he had already become a Swiss citizen. This time he could only be admitted to the ambulance corps, where he contracted dysentery. Not waiting for his complete recovery he returned to his duties at Basel, and from that time on his life was one long chain of sick spells, followed by glorious feelings of convalescence and resurrection. Hence what was a natural condition in Goethe, was the object of a constant struggle in Nietzsche. Nietzsche's instinctive restlessness was strengthened by his physical instability, whereas Goethe's classical repose was made easier by the normal metabolism of his body. And so we observe that Goethe's work *possesses* and *radiates* a calm and natural vigor, whereas Nietzsche's work rather *demands* and *preaches* a strength and health, which he himself could only arouse at intervals by the use of ever increasing doses of chloral. The joy of convalescence, the *will* to recovery, the *will* to life, the *will* to power, these are essential and constantly recurring motifs in Nietzsche's philosophy and poetry. While the optimism of Goethe's "Weltanschauung" is the natural outflow of his balanced personality, Nietzsche's optimistic philosophy is the result of his iron will. Goethe says "yea" to life because it is beautiful in its phenomenal variety of light and shadow, of good and bad, of happiness and sorrow; Nietzsche says "yea" to life because he convinces himself that it can be improved by the conscious rearing of a stronger, a nobler and happier race of men. Compared to Nietzsche, Goethe suggests to us the realization of an ideal for which Nietzsche only yearns. But again, Nietzsche's eye, and head

and stomach troubles may very well have been essential prerequisites for his amazing work. Without them his Zarathustra might not have been endowed with those fiery eyes and super-human demands, or might not even have been born. The required tension and tremendous pressure might have been lacking. Nietzsche might not have been driven to seek the rarified and invigorating air of the Engadine Alps, thousands of feet above the plains of Germany, "the only possible cradle for Zarathustra."

Finally, even the end of Nietzsche offers an illuminating contrast to that of Goethe. There is a legend according to which Goethe's last words were "More light!," a symbol of his alleged search for the infinite and for truth. In reality, he seems to have passed away calmly and peacefully, without expressing any challenging revolt or romantic yearning. For eighty-two years Goethe had grown like an oak, solidly spreading its roots in the ground, strengthening its trunk year by year and extending its branches and foliage in a wide sway in all directions. When that oak died, it was not because it was top-heavy, not because it was uprooted before its time by a sudden gust of wind, but because death is the inevitable process by which nature performs its marvelous metabolism. If Goethe's life be compared to a circle, his death was merely the final knot that closed the two ends. Upon entering the last ten years of his life he lived once more through a moment of rejuvenation as he fell in love with Ulrike von Levetzow who was still in her teens. But Goethe did not lose his healthy balance in the process. At the age of seventy-four his *Marienbader Elegie* had the same sobering effect upon him as had his *Werther* when he was young. When Nietzsche entered the last decade of his life, he too passed through a moment of physical jubilation, of lucidity of mind and clarity of soul, which impregnated his last works with dazzling light and alarming vitality. But this afflux of joy was a feverish glow, the ephemeral incandescence of a light on the point of burning out. For ten years, Nietzsche's mind was enveloped in a shroud of pitiful but harmless insanity. Unlike Goethe's life circle, that of Nietzsche was never closed; before the two ends could meet, one flew off at a tangent, into the infinite.

As far as mood and temperament are concerned, therefore, Nietzsche has much more in common with men like Beethoven,

the proud iconoclast, the aggressive aristocrat of feeling and instinct; with Hölderlin, that "crucified Dionysus," who even in his long years of mental darkness had flashes of divine inspiration in which he wrote some beautiful poetry; or more still with the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh, whose enraptured craving for color, light, and form reached unheard-of paroxysms as he drew nearer the benighted stage. With these Nietzsche had in common a resistless submission to some inner force which drove him slowly but inexorably into the complete loss of physical and mental balance, but which in the meantime spoke through him with absolutely elemental directness, with an irresistible stream of keen thoughts, luxuriant images, and musical words, with bursting emotion and burning enthusiasm.

Goethe, on the other hand, notoriously shunned the deadly charm of the extreme and violent, of the uncompromising and tragic. With naive passion, which betrays his deep-rooted instinct for self-protection, for harmony and organic growth, he rejected all volcanic theories of geological development. He was afraid of a certain type of music, because he feared its tendency toward the formless and chaotic, toward the infinite. What he appreciated above all in music was the melody, because of its definiteness and more palpable form. All his life Goethe fights the Dionysian, the demoniacal, the unchecked elemental, all those staccato, convulsive, and revolutionary forces of life. He knew too well the danger of their voracious, destructive tendencies if left to their own momentum, unchecked. As Stefan Zweig puts it, somewhere, at some crucial moment in his youth, he must have been face to face with the yawning abyss that lies at the end of every attempt to yield to the call of the demon within. A moment of tremendous importance this was for the future fate of Goethe, because it saved him once and for all from the deadly spell of the infinite. Whenever, henceforth, the Furies threaten him from within or cross his path in the persons of others, he either proceeds to exorcise himself by objectivating a Goetz, a Werther, a Prometheus, a Mahomet, an Egmont, an Orestes, a Tasso, a Faust—or else he wraps himself in the mantle of social aloofness or of classical and didactic moderation. And thus he strides along on his spiral way to harmony and self-culture. There is little doubt that had Nietzsche lived in Goethe's time, he would have met with the same cold reception on the part of the Sage of

Weimar as did Beethoven, and Kleist, and Heine and others of their temperamental type.

Is it surprising that Goethe was a friend of the restful plastic arts and of painting, while Nietzsche's musical talent was only challenged by his passion for ethical problems and by his irresistible urge for verbal and stylistic orgies? Goethe's style, especially his poetry, is musical, no doubt, but it is plastic above all, epically restful and measured. Nietzsche's style, too, is replete with plastic images; if he kept aloof from men, he composed most of his aphorisms on walks through the beautiful country of Italy or on the rocky shores of Alpine lakes, in intimate touch with nature. But above all, his word is music, intoxicating, bracing music, increasingly daring as he grows in age and in solitude. In Goethe, the Apollonian slowly but surely carries off the final victory; in Nietzsche, the Dionysian eventually routs the Apollonian and reaches orgiastic intensity in his last works. While Goethe sets his plastic images to music, as it were, Nietsche translates his musical thoughts into plastic words.

However, these contrasts, which might be multiplied and elaborated, conceal only imperfectly the genuine affinity which exists between Nietzsche and Goethe. It will have been noticed that in our description of what gives these two men their antithetical character, there opened at many vital points unexpected vistas of fundamental agreement. In reading Nietzsche's work carefully, one is indeed often reminded of Goethe in one way or another. The upper currents in Nietzsche's work, especially their frothy tempo, their engulfing and erosive effects, are entirely different from those slow and peaceful waves which carry Goethe's thoughts to thankful shores. But there are strong undercurrents of remarkable similarity on both sides. What Nietzsche admired in Goethe was determined by these; what he criticized was dictated by his dislike of such things as cautious compromise with convention, of deliberate resignation with existing forms of life. Goethe's greatness and genius, however, appeared so supreme to Nietzsche, that in his general appraisal he generously disregarded the shortcomings of the greatest German that had ever lived.

Unhesitatingly he placed him in the Pantheon of his supermen. Among the many names to which Nietzsche directs his attention at one time or another, even at the height of his period of revaluation

of all values, there is none to which he attaches so much unstinting and persistent reverence as to that of Goethe. Nietzsche quotes freely from his works and calls Goethe's conversations with Eckermann the best book written in German. A number of his aphorisms and short essays are devoted to partial or summary characterizations of Goethe's personality and work. While he recognizes him as the great German lyricist, he remarks, however, that his dominating nature is epic, contemplative, Apollonian. From the point of view of the drama he was far inferior to Schiller and Kotzebue, whom Nietzsche mentions cruelly in the same breath. Goethe's conciliatory, redeeming nature made him utterly unfit for the tragedy, which is essentially fateful and inexorable in its exigencies. Hence, Nietzsche considered *Iphigenia* and *Tasso* as Goethe's best dramatic works, because of their epico-lyrical character. Although it may be said that temperamentally Nietzsche had much in common with the Promethean Faust of the first version, he parodied Faust nevertheless, because, as he saw it, the Weimer poet did not seem to take the demon in Faust seriously and tragically enough. Otherwise Nietzsche admired the sentences of wisdom and the glorious poetry strewn lavishly about in Goethe's great work. But again, the latter's recourse to Catholic symbolism and Faust's salvation at the end were taboo to Nietzsche, who also laughed at Goethe's famous deification of the Eternal Feminine. He admires Goethe as the great, creative, and truly inspired writer, the master of Prose, the only classical poet of Germany. Three times he finds in Goethe's poetry the word "Uebermensch," and we may be sure that he was exteremely sensitive to its potential force. He respects Goethe's ideas about Shakespeare, Sterne, Schiller, and others, and even calls up his spirit in order to find out what he would have thought of the decadent Wagner with his mystical and Christian Parcifal. With Goethe he agrees about the nature of poetry, about the conditional and relative faith in the usefulness of history. The impartial and scientific study of history is not only useless but has a deadening and sterilizing effect. Unless the study of history is made a lever for the achievement of greater cultural progress in the present and in the future, it had better be left alone. In fact, for the creation of really new values, a temporary oblivion of history supplies a better foundation than historical consciousness. Both Goethe and Nietzsche

were also deeply impregnated with Greek culture and a classical conception of beauty. But while the Greek antiquity of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Goethe was that rather of Socratic and post-Socratic Greece, with its great emphasis on cheerful bright harmony, proportion, simplicity, and measure, Nietzsche laid stress on that Greece in which the barbarian, the Dionysian, the demoniacal, orgiastic, and pessimmisic instincts were essential ingredients of greatness. Goethe was in the eyes of Nietzsche the great European, the world-citizen, transcending the provincial and petty German. Napoleon's well-known words addressed to Goethe: "Voilà un homme," are interpreted and approved by Nietzsche as meaning: "Indeed, here is a man! And I had only expected a German." Just as Beethoven composed music and as Schopenhauer philosophized over the heads of the Germans, just so Goethe wrote *Iphigenia* and *Tasso* over their heads. Nietzsche's attitude toward the so-called German "Philister Bildung" was essentially the same as that of Goethe, but instead of being mildly resisting, gently sparing or kindly silent, Nietzsche was extremely vocal and superlatively sarcastic. How could he respect a nation that was so conceited and self-satisfied that it had only a shrug of the shoulders for the greatest man of Europe who left nothing undone to make himself heard? Nietzsche could never forget that the first who discovered him was a Dane, Georges Brandes, who devoted a series of lectures to his philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, at a time when Germany at large hardly knew who Nietzsche was. Sweden, France, Russia, New York were more interested in Nietzsche than the country of his birth. Nietzsche himself was proud of the Slavonic and aristocratic blood which he suspected in his veins and which he considered partly responsible for his praeter-German outlook. Like Goethe he admired the artistic instincts of the French, their classical lightness and superficiality, their clear psychological insight. But in spite of all these reservations he saw in Goethe—whom he calls "der Ausnahme Deutsche"—as well as in Luther and Schiller, the true German culture, the German culture *in potentia*, which could only be realized on a large scale in some distant future, when the Germans would come to know, like Goethe, that to be genuinely German meant being something more than merely German. And finally, Nietzsche admired in Goethe that sure instinct with which

he recognized the two great errors of his life: that of believing himself a great painter and that of putting his scientific talents above his poetic ones.

Professional philosophers are reluctant to consider Goethe and even Nietzsche as one of their clan. And in a sense there are very good reasons for their attitude. The outstanding fact is that Nietzsche and Goethe are poet-philosophers. Neither is in sympathy with the dialectic, critical, and analyzing method by which the philosopher proceeds to scrutinize all that is involved in a theory and to dissect all the consequences that will logically follow from it. It is quite true that they both pass through a period of hesitation in this respect: Goethe had his Kantian spell and Nietzsche turned rather Socratic in his second philosophic stage. But in their instinctive youth as well as in their period of maturity they are emphatic in putting constructive synthesis above critical analysis. And what is worse—or better—is that they both believe implicitly in the supreme importance of intuition and instinct in order to arrive at this synthesis. *Fiat vita, pereat veritas* is Nietzsche's slogan in these two characteristic periods: "if so-called philosophic truth tends to destroy life, then by all means let us sacrifice that truth." If truth is to be reached, it is not by the one-sided application of reason which slowly builds up a logical system, but rather by intuitive vision in which the whole of man has part, his senses, his imagination, his emotions and his intellect. Not that Goethe's and Nietzsche's thoughts are absolutely sudden and disconnected flashes of light, inspirations gleaned at random out of the air. In fact they often carry them with them for a more or less long period, sometimes for years, until at last they ripen into a peculiarly pregnant form and appear suddenly luminous and brilliant as a flame. All that is then required is not a long treatise, but a clear and short formulation, in a style which is not dry and dialectic but emotionally colored and visionary, not slow moving and expansive but convincingly assertive, not punctiliously accurate and exhaustive, but revelling in the suggestive and stimulating paradox. Hence, both Goethe's and Nietzsche's philosophy is laid down in aphorisms, short essays, condensed sayings, epigrams, symbolic poems. Hence also, their positive dislike of logically and laboriously worked out systems. Their philosophy is often clad in luxuriant metaphors, plastic images,

carrying you away by its music and rhythm. Even in his seemingly organic works such as his *Birth of Tragedy* or his *Zarathustra* Nietzsche is in realitty aphoristic. His thoughts are the result of instinctive and prophetic vision, captured at the moment of greatest clarity on walks in the open.

The danger of error resulting from this method of philosophizing and scientific study is obvious. Goethe's antipathy for analysis and decomposition led him to become passionately opposed to Newton's optical theories, and his comical dislike of mathematical physics is pointed out with great satisfaction by professional philosophers and scientists as ample justification for their attitude of reserve. It is equally evident that many of Nietzsche's theories about racial, social, and ethical problems are open to criticism or downright rejection. But after all, if we consider the light that these men have really thrown on many unexplored or insufficiently explored problems, we cannot help recognizing the great value and efficiency of their intuitive, that is, poetic procedure. Even the mere posing of new problems is a most significant part of philosophic and scientific research. And who can claim to rival Nietzsche as a poser of tremendous problems in a field where human tradition and inertia are so stubbornly bent upon taking things for granted? If it is true that a systematic edifice of philosophy is apt to be more consistent and coherent, less contradictory and less fragmentary, is it not equally evident that unless every essential part of that edifice is solid and impervious to criticism, the whole system is bound to crumble away into nothingness? Accuracy and exhaustive completeness are naturally more characteristic of a systematic pursuit of thought, but intuition and inspiration have the supreme advantage of greater inventiveness and creative power. Are not many of the greatest discoveries and truths the result of the sudden flash of light caught by the genius in its swift passing? Not to speak of the superior form of presentation that we may expect from the poet-philosopher, superior by its enthusiasm, its dynamic and persuasive power, its fascinating imagery, its music and rhythm. A false assumption of a purely dialectic thinker becomes *ipso facto* a worthless thing, deserving nothing but profound oblivion and neglect. An untrue aphorism of a poet-philosopher may still remain a gem, beautiful to look at and to caress with one's imagination.

Even if we disagree most emphatically with Nietzsche in what he has to say or to preach, we still like to breathe the stimulating ozone which fills the atmosphere of his thinking, to hear the dancing music of his words.

Nietzsche does not share Goethe's conviction of the inherently organic structure of the cosmos, but rather sees in nature nothing but unrelated phenomena, a sort of hodge podge of individually conflicting wills. Nevertheless they both have an instinctive distrust of all fundamentally dualistic theories. They are repelled by any system of thought which splits the universe into two irreconcilable parts: the physical and the metaphysical, the phenomenon and the noumenon. Hence also their hostile attitude to such Christian concepts as this life and the life beyond, sin and grace, guilt and reconciliation, a personal God and his creation, body and soul, the natural and the supernatural, good and evil. All these concepts tear the universe of man apart into two incompatible and intolerable worlds, destructive of happiness and harmony. If Goethe seems more reserved in his confessions about religion and morality, it is merely because of his superior, non-tragic feeling of tolerance. His works and sayings as well as his life, however, are eloquent testimonies for anyone who is willing to see. Nietzsche, on the other hand, can never be heretic, paradoxical, extreme and godless enough. He seems to draw Goethe's thoughts from their soft twilight into the blinding light of day, and to throw them on the market with naked fanaticism, magnifying their weaknesses and covering their delicate shadings with crying colors. That Goethe considered the distinction between good and evil as merely relative, that he did not believe in an absolue good as opposed to an aboslute evil, can be gathered from his works and life at every turn. It was an instinctive conviction of his, which was merely strengthened by his acquaintance with Spinoza's *Ethics*. It separated him as well as Nietzsche from Kant's bourgeois philosophy. "Das, was wir böse nennen, ist nur die andre Seite vom Guten." The Christian concept of the original sin he complements with that of the original virtue: "eine angeborene Güte, Rechtlichkeit und besonders eine Neigung zur Ehrfurcht." He calls the very personification of Evil, namely Mephisto: "ein Teil von jener Kraft, die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft." In his *Prologue in Heaven* he lets the devil speak on equal

terms with God: "Des Menschen Tâtigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen, Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh; Drum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu, Der reizt und wirkt und muss, als Teufel, schaffen." And Mephisto comments: "Von Zeit zu Zeit seh' ich den Alten gern, Und hüte mich, mit ihm zu brechen. Es ist gar hübsch von einem grossen Herrn, So menschlich mit dem Teufel selbst zu sprechen." A consciousness of guilt in a Judaeo-Christian sense was unknown to Goethe, and his relative adjustment to existing customs was merely an expression of his desire for peace and harmony. If he differs in this respect from Nietzsche it is only in form and expression. What Goethe hides shyly under a coat of transparent symbols or behind the screen of his discreet behavior, Nietzsche rationalizes with all the articulate sharpness of his passionate thought. He writes whole books of aphorisms and essays about it, such as *The Genealogy of Morality, Beyond Good and Evil, The Will to Power, Thus Spake Zarathustra.* Against the artificial, moral concepts of good and evil he puts the natural, amoral concepts of good and bad. Good as opposed to bad is that which is conducive to stronger, healthier life, the supreme and ultimate goal of humanity. The concept of morality is perfectly irrelevant to it. Good and bad belong to a different sphere from that of good and evil, they lie beyond good and evil, and it is in this sphere only that the superman can live and thrive. It is his function to fight what is bad and to nurse what is good, regardless of moral considerations of good and evil. And all this is said and preached with an amazing directness of speech, with a clarity of vision, a cutting sharpness, which would undoubtedly have caused the non-tragical Goethe to stare and to balk.

Besides these few peculiarities, which reveal such a marked relationship of affinity and contrast between Nietzsche and Goethe, many other parallelisms of equal significance could easily be shown to exist. I will only suggest in a general way that Nietzsche also shared with Goethe that yearning for Italy which has become so characteristic of the Germans, especially since Winckelmann. It is a yearning for Italy as a symbol of sunshine, of a bright and naive culture which comes nearest to being a natural continuation of the ancient classical tradition, a symbol of the strong and glorious art of the Renaissance. By instinct, Goethe and Nietzsche were aristo-

crats of the heart and mind; nobility as they understood it is not a mere matter of birth and social position, but real nobility of instinct, talent, and ideals. They are outspoken champions of a healthy egoism as opposed to altruism on one hand and to selfishness on the other. They are individualists with unlimited contempt for a mechanical world which reduces the human being to the rank of a mere wheel in the social or national machine. Yet, each in his own personal way, strove for the betterment of mankind, for a higher culture in which greater and stronger individuals would raise society to a superior level.

In conclusion, we might observe that Goethe's and Nietzsche's undoubted non- or anti-Christian attitude did not prevent either of them from recognizing the great cultural value of Christianism in certain defined fields. Goethe was decidedly more generous and tolerant in this respect than Nietzsche, not only because of his more compromising and less fanatic nature, but also because in the personal experience of his life the Christian dogma and ethics had not touched him to the quick as they had Nietzsche. Moreover, although Goethe and Nietzsche were undoubtedly praeter-national in their thoughts, sentiments, and aspirations, they were both deeply embedded in the Teutonic cultural mold. Their own individuality and works are, in spite of all reservations, profoundly German, and when they speak disparagingly of their country and countrymen, they only refer to certain features of the present, past, or immediate future. But they have in common a sincere belief in the great potentialities and latent qualities of their people.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MODERN EGYPT

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FOR THE PAST thirteen hundred years, the entire culture of Egypt has been very closely identified with, if not entirely molded by, the religious system known to the world as *Islam*. While this religion and culture based on the teachings of Mahomet was Arabian in origin and characteristics, from the time of its introduction into Egypt in the seventh century it dominated the intellectual and social, the individual and the national character, practically to the exclusion of any other large and vital forces. Whatever there was of pre-Islamic religious influence, whether pagan or Christian, to a very large degree gave way to the penetration of Moslem thought.

Egypt not only submitted to Islam, but in time became a center of Moslem influence and teaching. More than to other factors, this was due to the founding at Cairo of the remarkable institution known as the Azhar University. Established in the tenth century by order of the Fatimite Caliph Muiz ed-Din, its original purpose was that of propagating the Shiite creed, in the effort to supplant the Sunni doctrines at that time prevalent in Egypt. For a short time at the middle of the twelfth century the Azhar was shorn of its educational functions and remained a mosque for worship only. But having its former character restored, its influence quickly spread to the most distant Moslem lands. By degrees, as al-Azhar came to be regarded as the source of authorative interpretations of Mohammedan doctrine and law, Cairo rose to a position in the eyes of the devout scarcely inferior to that of Jerusalem or the Holy Cities in Arabia. Meanwhile, as various other institutions, such as the *kuttáb*, or village school, came to be dependent upon it, al-Azhar exercised an almost complete monopoly over such intel-

lectual life as existed in Egypt.

Until the nineteenth century al-Azhar remained altogether primitive in form and apathetic in scholarship. Its activities were limited to the routine study of certain prescribed books, themselves lifeless, inaccurate, irregular in style and obscure in meaning, having been composed in a decadent age. These works, nevertheless, were regarded as quasi-sacred texts which it was an act of devotion to read, to elucidate, and to believe unquestioningly. Under such circumstances, superstitious notions, hallowed by religious sanction, found easy entrance, and ignorance battened on the belief that apart from the studies of the Azhar, there was no need for knowledge either for the present or for the life to come.

The dogma defined by al-Azhar was not without its critics. Since the thirteenth century the sect of Sufis, or "people of the path," espoused other fundamentals of doctrine, maintaining that, in order to gain a revelation of the truth, to attain to highest happiness, and to approach Allah, the soul must be purified and the conscience cleansed by means of certain practices[1] and disciplines, the latter being imposed by the spiritual preceptor or sheikh. For them inward piety supplied the sole path to knowledge and external forms of worship had virtue only for their effect on the soul. The Azharites, in contrast, were mere formalists, being concerned only with complete harmony between the canon law (*shari'ah*) of Islam and the conduct of the faithful. Inasmuch, however, as sincere and capable teachers were rare even among the Sufis, the adherents of this sect were seldom more enlightened than the pupils of al-Azhar. Sufi fakirs very generally exploited the ignorance of the masses, substituting pious fraud, superstition, and barbaric cavorting for genuine learning and devotion.

By such rites and doctrines were the lives of Egyptians shaped and colored for many generations. Their faith was the more tenacious because the anarchy which passed for government left no hope of earthly escape from utter poverty, humiliation, and despair. Only in religion was consolation to be found. How could the masses do otherwise than turn to the glamour and promise of religious

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[1]For instance, the performance of the *dhikr,* or recollection of God, a familiar example of which is the dance of the *mavlevis,* or "whirling dervishes."

rites, orthodox or sectarian, and address themselves to the hierarchy of spirits and to the tombs of saints in quest of help from an unseen world?

The plethora of wars with which the nineteenth century opened were of special significance to Egypt because of the advent of the remarkable Albanian adventurer, Mohamed Aly Pasha. With the assistance of the religious chiefs of Cairo his authority was established in 1805. Scarcely had he succeeded in crushing his antagonists than he was moved by peremptory orders from the Sultan to undertake a campaign against the schismatic Wahhabis in the Hejaz for the defense of the Holy Cities. If Mohamed Aly's costly victory over these heresiarchs in 1818 gained for him a special place in the field of politics and war, it also earned for him among Egyptian religious leaders the rank of *mujáhid*[2] as defender of the Caliph and the respect due the defender of the Holy Places.[3]

The consequent rise of Mohamed Aly to a position of unrivalled power was marked by numerous innovations and brought the first faint promise of improvement in the lives of the Egyptians. In order to insure the stability of his government he did not hesitate to call many European experts to his assistance. By this process a new culture was introduced gradually into the country—a culture which, if religious in any sense of the word, was Christian rather than Moslem. At the outset there were few protesting voices, since the principal purpose in the introduction of European experts and methods was the improvement of the army ostensibly for such righteous objectives as the chastisement of the Wahhabis. By the time it became apparent that the army might have other and more secular uses, the new régime was too firmly entrenched to be contested and Mohamed Aly continued with the European policy which has gained for him the epithet of "founder of modern Egypt."

Thus, during the course of the nineteenth century, two rather clearly defined cultures came to exist side by side in Egypt. The one was an outgrowth of religious instruction and was marked by distinctive costume—the turban and loose robes—sloth, ceremony,

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[2]*I.e.*, one who has performed the *jihad* or holy war: in Christian parlance, a Crusader.

[3]Mecca and Medina.

Courtesy of P. G. Elgood

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and adherence to tradition. The other was essentially secular and was characterized by European dress and manners, interest in science and in art, and modern industrial methods. Members of the latter group were usually neither atheistic nor heretical, but were inclined to regard the rigidity and obscurantism of the Azhar as foreign to the true spirit of Islam. The inevitable rivalry between the two groups was ever tempered, on the one hand, by fear of charges of heresy, and, on the other, by unwillingness to attack the servants of a prince whose divine right none would contest. From these two elements stem the religious and cultural problems of recent years.

During the reign of Ismail (1865-1879) the stream of intellectual activity in Egypt grew wider and deeper. This was due in part to the fact that the number of European residents in Egypt increased rapidly, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Recruited from all classes and nationalities, these, enjoying the counte-

nance of the Khedive, became a part of the social life of the country. At the same time, there was a considerable influx of political and religious insurgents from other parts of the Islamic East seeking a haven in renascent Egypt. The Azhar steadily resisted the influences created by these new elements and in so doing earned the displeasure of the Khedive. Partly to bring al-Azhar into line with government policies, partly to reform the religious courts whose muftis[4] were recruited from graduates of the old university, Ismail proceeded in 1870 to dismiss the head of the university, Sheikh Mustafa al-Amrúsi. Thereupon, having replaced him with the more liberal Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Abássi, he altered the constitution of al-Azhar, providing for the regulation of subjects of study, the systematizing of examinations, and improved governance of student affairs. This courageous step produced noteworthy results and introduced some modern elements into this stronghold of religious culture, even though these changes fell far short of effecting a fundamental or lasting reform.

Meanwhile, more popular and far-reaching influences were taking shape. In part these may be traced to a group of Azharites, led by Sheikh Hasan al-Tawil, who espoused some of the doctrines of the Sufi sect of the Senussis. These would have accomplished little, however, but for the arrival in Egypt in 1871 of a fiery revolutionary, al-Sayyid Jamál al-Din al-Afghani. Already distinguished for his wide travels, intellectual independence, and great moral courage, magnetic in appearance and in speech, Jamál al-Din supplied the revolutionary fervor essential to the development of any significant spiritual or intellectual movement. Among the pupils of Sheikh al-Tawil and among the young men of the modern school who, abroad or at home, had tasted the fruits of intellectual freedom, he found ready followers. Ambitious to accomplish the complete renaissence of the East at one stroke, Jamál al-Din placed no bounds on his program, denouncing political despotism on the one hand and religious obscurantism on the other. Jamál al-Din maintained liberal views of a type particularly rare in Moslem lands. He had deep

[4] The title of *mufti*, which perhaps may be translated "superior judge," is held by certain high officials in the juristic world of Islam who have the power of issuing *fetwas* or rescripts on points of law.

respect for all forms of knowledge, insisting that ignorance and superstition were inimical to the Islamic faith.

Inevitably such advanced ideas seemed scandalous to the vested interests of state and religion. In 1879 Jamál al-Din was summarily expelled from Egypt. Somewhat later he was arrested for seditious teachings in India, and his latter years, until his death in 1898, were spent as a prisoner in a golden cage on the Bosphorus. Nevertheless, his influence persisted in Egypt and some of the many incongruous elements which characterized the Arabi upheaval of 1882 bore distinguishing marks of his teachings.

The crudely nationalistic revolt of Arabi not only failed from the military point of view by provoking British intervention, but also checked and discredited the religious reform trend loosely bound up in it. This was in part the natural outcome of the defeat of a nominally popular movement. More significantly, however, it was due to the dexterity with which the Caliph, Abdul Hamid, was able to transform the liberal revolt against unprogressive absolutism into a program for the defense and strengthening of the Caliphate. This was accomplished by shrewd agents, such as Latif Pasha Selim, who turned the general hostility to the British Occupation into religious channels. Rather than countenance an alien and Christian order, Egyptians were reminded that their country was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire and that the traditional unity of religion and state was still preserved by their Caliph and Sultan. In the course of this program, the Sultan's agents, aided by many of the sheikhs, found it expedient to denounce all modern innovations as dangerous and subversive. Many of the sheikhs actively participated in this movement, preferring the loose control of the Caliph to the stern hand of Britain. The masses were the more easily influenced because the Caliph, whose name was intoned every Friday in the mosques, was to them a religious symbol. So effective were these combined efforts that not until the early years of the twentieth century were there any new signs of reform in religious dogma and observance in Egypt.

The British, meanwhile, regarded these efforts to crystallize anti-British sentiment by encouraging the growth of Turkish influence with some natural apprehension. They found it necessary to proceed cautiously, nevertheless, lest in a difficult situation they give evidence of hostility to Islam and the Caliphate. In such a

dilemma the young Khedive, Abbas Hilmi II, occupied a most difficult position. His loyalty and sincerity were likely to be suspected by the British on the one hand and by the Sultan on the other, while, being shorn of real power, he could scarcely avoid being regarded by the nation as a British tool. Although conservative at heart, he discerned presently in a new religious reform movement a possible opportunity to recover some influence and prestige, and in sponsoring the reform he gave impulse incidentally to one of the most significant trends of recent times in Egypt.

The new reform current emanated from the very portals of al-Azhar itself. There a group of religious savants, led by a man of remarkable intelligence and integrity of character, Sheikh Mohamed Abdu, had quietly set about revising the bases of Islamic thought and practice with the idea of bringing the faith more into accord with the modern world. Through the representations of this group, the Khedive readily became persuaded that the welfare of the body politic and of his own position would be augmented by a reform in religious instruction, commencing with the university itself.

As early as 1894 the Khedive embarked tentatively on the new course by appointing Sheikh Mohamed Abdu to the Board of al-Azhar, later advancing him to the important post of Grand Mufti of Egypt. Meanwhile, another able scholar, Hassuni al-Nawawi, who had long served in the higher Government schools, was appointed Sheikh al-Azhar or rector of the university. Thus supported, Sheikh Mohamed Abdu set out to preserve the best in the traditions of al-Azhar, while absorbing many concepts which were outgrowths of modern science. Through treatises and *fetwas,* books and lectures, he set forth the essentials of Islamic faith as viewed by an intellectual. In substance, he taught that "Islam is a religion of simplicity, conformable to nature and to reason. It takes form in sound doctrines, which are not beyond human grasp, and moral principles which inspire to right conduct, safeguard man's freedom and dignity, and impel him to strive toward perfection in all human activities." Maintaining that in its first purity Islam was a source of vitality, he advocated a return to the original sources of the faith, namely, the Koran and the Prophetic Guidance.

These views were not universally popular with the Egyptians. While some of the younger, who had received secular education and

had felt western impulses, responded enthusiastically, many others were hesitant and fearful or jealous for their own interests as mentors of a superstitious people. These, conspiring to discredit Mohamed Abdu, were delighted to discover a friend in the Khedive. Originally committed to reform as a political instrument, Abbas found his purposes thwarted by the very forces which he had hoped to control. Quickly he learned that those who were ready to approach religion with an attitude of critical inquiry were the more inclined to speak freely and candidly with respect to matters of state. Presently, having lost the loyalty of conservative elements without having gained that of the progressives, the Khedive saw no alternative to returning to a reactionary policy, as many another prince has done, hoping to maintain among an ignorant and bigoted people an authority which is ever soluble in the ferment of new ideas. In 1905 Abbas found means of removing Sheikh Mohamed Abdu from al-Azhar and of forcing his colleagues into obscurity.

However, in a country which had been drawn so rapidly and so extensively into the purview of the western world, it was impossible to eliminate all traces of intellectual revolt. One of its more tangible consequences was the opening in 1907 of the Moslem School of Law, which was organized along lines drawn by Sheikh Mohamed Abdu some years earlier. Similar influences led to the founding of the Egyptian University in 1908, offering secular as well as Islamic studies after western models. Meanwhile, events associated with the rise of the Young Turk Party considerably weakened the position of the Caliph in Egypt and some of the reactionary forces in Egypt lost momentum. Al-Azhar, however, remained a scene of trouble and confusion where the struggles of rival parties were enhanced by constant interference on the part of the Khedive. One crisis quickly followed another within its walls until new issues arising from the Great War changed their trend.

The World War, while appealing to many kinds of religious prejudice and fanaticism, was little calculated to stimulate religious sentiment. Even such changes as might have resulted from the devotion and piety of Sultan Hussein Kamil were obstructed by his illness and early demise. However, the revolution which broke out immediately after the close of the War and shook Egypt to its very foundations contained implications of eventual consequence to the

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religious institutions of the country. For the first time since the Arab conquest in the seventh century political and religious interests were almost completely separated, for, with the exception of occasional and half-hearted demands for the revival of the Caliphate on an Egyptian basis, all attention was focused on the achievement of political independence. Even though the National Constitution of 1923 declared Islam to be the official religion of the state, public attention was rapidly becoming more and more engrossed with the problems and issues of civil life and with institutions borrowed in the main from Europe. The strict observance of religious customs and ceremonies therefore became less and less characteristic, especially in the towns and cities. Even in the villages religious fasts and observances were more generally neglected. There was no longer a quick and general response to the call of the muezzin from the minarets of the mosques to the daily prayers. Even the clocks of many of the mosques, as those of the Christian churches, traced the hours from midnight to noon rather than from dawn to sunset.

In this new order where social practices underwent daily change as Egypt struggled to assume a place among highly competitive modern nations, al-Azhar remained the stronghold of tradition and conservatism. Unable to compete with the secular educational system directed at first by English officials, and weakened further by the working of western leaven in the Moslem lands beyond Egypt, venerable al-Azhar was compelled to relinquish its monopolistic control of Islamic cultural development.

This retreat during the first decade or more following the World War proved, however, to be strategic. As the pristine fervor of the nationalist movement degenerated into party bickerings and the prosperity of post-War years faded before a period of unprecedented depression, the influence of the Sheikh al-Azhar again gained ground. This partial recovery, once begun, was substantially reinforced by a complete revamping of the outworn program of studies. The introduction of a new curriculum, embracing four years of primary and five years of secondary study, approximates the plan of the Government schools, except that in place of foreign languages there is an emphasis on the Arabic language and on Islamic doctrine. Beyond this are four years more of professional training for teaching in the Moslem sacred law courts and in advanced

Islamic culture. Still beyond this are prescribed three years of specialized or graduate study qualifying for distinguished Islamic leadership. Under this plan the old mosque becomes a place of worship only. New educational structures are to be built from the resources of the Wakfs, or Moslem Benevolent Endowments, to facilitate the new program. Branch schools already have been established in eight other centers in Egypt where nine of the sixteen years' course of instruction are offered. Thus, al-Azhar is still a factor of importance in the life of Egypt and one of the most potent influences retarding the penetration of western ideas and methods into every phase of Egyptian life.

As has been the case at other periods, the modern world is not veiwed uniformly by the leaders of Islam. A fairly distinct line of cleavage separates those who are disposed to adapt themselves to a changing world from others who, resisting modern tendencies, have been forced into ultra-conservative positions. The former hold that the sacred texts embrace all scientific truths—those apparent and those yet to be disclosed. These liberals would so interpret religious writings as to harmonize with them the results of scientific endeavor. It is their view that since reason is a criterion in Islam, it cannot conflict with the faith. All evidence, therefore, must be susceptible of rational interpretation. The reactionaries, on the other hand, led by the *ulema*[5] (sing. *alim,* scholar) of al-Azhar, still regard religion as a touchstone by which every manifestation must be tested. That which accords with Moslem theology *ipso facto* is true and good; that which contradicts is false and illusory. It remains, therefore, for all truth to be revealed through the interpreters of the Faith, who are, for the most part, the sheikhs of al-Azhar. The whole effort of this group has been to preserve a complete isolation from Christian, Jewish, or pagan thought. This, however, is a tendency quite as pronounced among the more conservative heads of other religious communities in Egypt.

The religious life of Egypt, of course, is not wholly bound up in Islam, although the Moslem community comprises some ninety

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[5]The *ulema* are often known as "sheikhs" which distinguishes them from the less conservative "effendis," who are more or less Europeanized citizens.

Courtesy of H. I. Katibah TRANSPORTATION ON THE NILE

per cent of the total population.[6] The remaining ten per cent, except for a small number of Jews, consists of the Copts, who form the main body of the Christian community, Greeks, Armenians, Roman Catholics, Syrians, and even Protestants. Others than the Copts and a portion of the Protestants do not enter into the life of the nation and so have no appreciable influence in the direction of religious currents.

The trends of religious thought in the Coptic community in recent times for a variety of reasons have followed those of the Moslems. The Patriarch of the Coptic Church in many respects is the counterpart of the Sheikh al-Azhar. Both represent conservative forces and stand as guardians over the forms and traditions of their respective faiths. Both have tremendous influence within their respective communities, the Patriarch being actually the spiritual head of his flock as the successor of St. Mark, the traditional founder of the Christian Church in Egypt. As the Moslem looks to the Koran, the *Hadith,* and the *ulema* (sheikhs) for authority, the Copt reveres the Bible, the church councils and the priesthood. For many centuries, however, both Moslem and Copt have been exposed to much the same influences, and while there is little contact between the two communities, each regarding the other with jaundiced eye, they have followed similar courses. Among these Christians, as among the Mohammedan population, there are progressives or modernists, though inconsiderable in number and influence. The Protestants, on the other hand, while reflecting many a hue of religious doctrine, have exerted an influence in Egypt during the last three-quarters of a century quite disproportionate to their numbers. This has been due, in part, perhaps, to their closer contact with powerful external political forces, their extraordinary standard of literacy and their zeal for education. Thus, while they constitute less than one-half of one per cent of the entire population of Egypt, they may be credited with a material share of the intellectual ferment characteristic of the country in recent times.

How deep and far reaching are the new attitudes it is extremely difficult to estimate. In a land so long steeped in abysmal ignorance

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[6]See "Modern Religious Tendencies in Egypt," by Sheikh Aly Abdel Razek Bey and Dean Robert S. McClenahan, in *The New Orient,* a series of monographs on Oriental Culture published for The New Orient Society of America by the Open Court Publishing Co., 1933, pp. 387-404.

and in which every aspect of life has been completely circumscribed by superstition and tradition and dominated by a fanatical ruling element, only the most hopeful can see the emergence in our time of a new Egypt in which progress as defined by western standards will be the order of the day. Such a change is the less likely since scientific changes and modern trends have compelled the forces of conservation to look to their defences and have thrust many of the more timid with liberal inclinations back into the ranks of fundamentalism.

That some permanent changes in religious attitude and thought will ensue from an increase in literacy and from the introduction of technological improvements, medical science, and new social habits is inevitable. For example, Moslems no longer cavil at receiving interest on bank deposits. The Egyptian Government itself has established a postal savings bank. No longer are emergencies and crises ascribed to the will of Allah in such measure as to make provision for them appear impracticable, as formerly. Very recently the Azhar authorities themselves have departed from the fatalism which has been the very spirit of Islam by taking out insurance to cover one of the statliest shrines in Egypt, the mighty mosque of Mohamed Aly in Cairo. Such evidences are indicative of changes which are surely more than superficial and which point a trend toward freedom of thought. This trend is no longer confined, as it may have been at an earlier period, to political considerations. It now embraces the broad field of religious and social life in a way which can not be prevented by authority or dogma. Present tendencies point to an increase in this spirit of inquiry and to an adaptation and recasting of the religious thinking of the nation.

Thus, among both Moslems and Christians in Egypt the reinterpretation of theology is face to face with demands and influences which place the faith of former generations in a new perspective. The changes which undoubtedly are taking place can not yet be measured, but it is evident that many of them are more than superficial. Even though they may tend toward scepticism, agnosticism, or atheism, they signify a strong trend toward freedom of thought. The breaking through of the Egyptian physical barrier and the creation of a European highway to the East in the nineteenth century perhaps has a counterpart in the breaching of Egyptian fundamentalism by the currents of European thought in our day.

THE CHINESE EXHIBITION IN LONDON

BY CHARLES FABENS KELLEY

TEN O'CLOCK of the evening of March 7th, 1936, saw the close of one of the most significant art events ever to have taken place in our modern western world, for then were the doors shut upon the great exhibition of Chinese Art held at Burlington House, the seat of the Royal Academy in London. The history of this exhibition is astonishing, for apparently insuperable obstacles had been surmounted, one by one, and the response of the public, always problematic, had exceeded all expectations. The show had received marvellous advertising, for months before it opened the London Art Magazines, the illustrated weeklies, and even the daily papers had carried articles subtly calculated to arouse interest. The British railroads had made special excursion rates, and "special facilities" were offered to visitors from abroad. Had it not been for the death of King George there is no doubt that all attendance records would have been shattered. Nevertheless, between November 27th, 1935, and March 7th, 1936, over 422,000 people attended the exhibition. Countless excursions of school children were organized all over the island, and sizeable excursions came from many continental countries. If one were a serious student of things Chinese the chances were that he met there in the galleries everyone he had corresponded with, heard of, or known, of similar interests from the remotest corners of the globe. For this sort of thing London seems to be the true center of the world.

An enterprise of such magnitude provoked all sorts of opinions, reasoned and otherwise, but regardless of final verdicts as to quality, it is amazing that such an exhibition could have been organized at all, and the real reason for its taking place was without doubt the almost fanatical energy and persistence of Sir Percival David.

A committee of four, Sir Percival David, director of the exhibition, R. L. Hobson, connoisseur extraordinary of Chinese porce-

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BRONZE CEREMONIAL WINE VESSEL, WITH INSCRIPTION

Possibly before the 12th Century B. C. Lent by the Chinese Government. Elephant's heads may be noticed on the shoulders of the vessel. It is now known that elephants were kept at the Chinese capital before that date. A few years ago these would have been considered an anachronism.

lains and keeper of the British Museum collections, George Eumorfopoulos, perhaps the most outstanding of collectors of Chinese art, and Oscar Raphael, honorary curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University, a volunteer on the staff of the British

Museum, and one of the world's most discriminating Orientalists, traveled together around the world to invite collectors, museums, and governments to lend their choicest objects. They went to India, China, Japan, and America, and after their return to London, Mr. Eumorfopoulos journeyed to Moscow and obtained some very rare things from the Soviet Government. There were also advisory committees in other European countries.

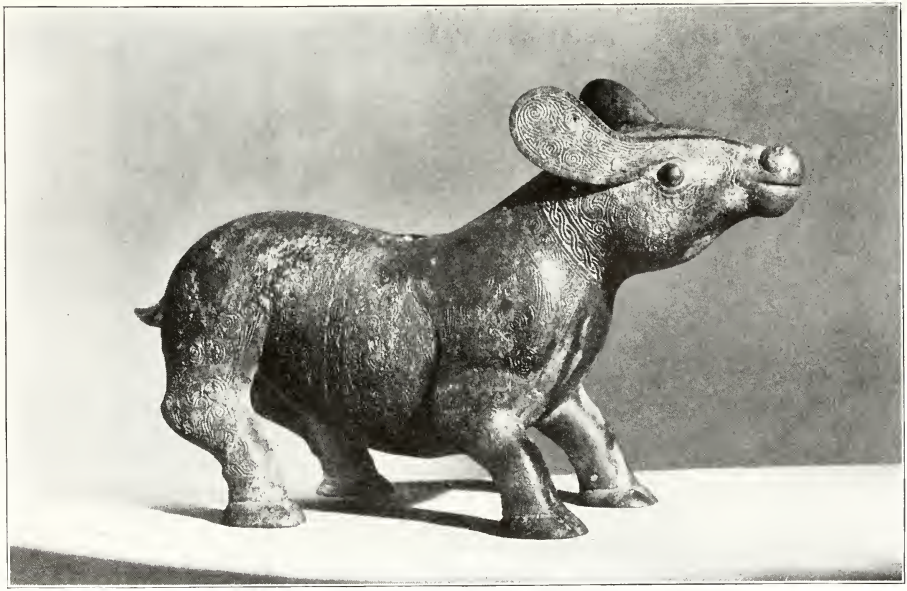
The exhibition was almost too large to be crowded into galleries of such modest dimensions, but special cases of ingenious design with interior illumination showed the bronzes and porcelains to advantage.

The bronzes were probably the major attraction, for here was shown a larger number of fine pieces than had ever been gathered together before in the western hemisphere, and one could study a bronze not only as a single piece, but for its relationship to the family of ceremonial bronzes as a whole. Inevitably one found that the majority consisted of variations upon types, and the very number of the bronzes shown gave some hope of a far more logical classification than has hitherto been achieved. Indeed an attempt was made to introduce a different chronological grouping. The Chinese government was very generous in the number of bronzes sent, but great disappointment was expressed that none of the pieces excavated at Anyang was shown, for they date without doubt from the Shang Dynasty, before 1200 B. C. and are certain to prove to be another Rosetta stone for the untangling of the chronology of Chinese bronzes. It was said that the Academia Sinica, not having had sufficient time to study these finds, felt it impossible to release them for the exhibition, although a fragment of sculpture from the excavations was shown.

A great variety of patination of the bronzes was noted, and there was a rather sharp differentiation between the bronzes from the Chinese government and those from the European and American collections. The first were almost all of a dull, lusterless color, ranging from blackish brown to a leadlike, brownish grey. Most of the other pieces were strongly patinated with malachite green or azurite blue, products of chemical change, and the surfaces frequently were lustrous. This naturally raised the question whether the Chinese government had restricted the loans to certain types of

BLACK JADE HORSE, 9TH CENTURY A. D.

Lent by Oscar Raphael, London. This is a masterpiece of compact carving, and was long in the Imperial Collection, for it was brought to Peking in 1422 A. D. by the Emperor Yung-lo.



MYTHICAL ANIMAL OF BRONZE

Period of the Warring States (481-221 B. C.). Lent by H. J. Oppenheim, London.

HORSE'S HEAD AND SHOULDERS IN GREY-GREEN JADE

Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 220). Lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection. This piece is famous for its texture and surface as well as for its sculptural quality.

bronzes, or whether the taste of occidental and oriental collectors differs as regards the choicest examples. One thing was made quite clear—that the type called tentatively Ts'in or Huai, with intricately interlaced decorative patterns of great precision and delicacy, must have extended over a far longer period than had been thought.

There was a brilliant display of bronzes inlaid with gold and silver of the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 221), or possibly earlier, which were marvels of virtuosity. These came from all over the world. For example, one fine halberd handle was lent by the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts; another similar type came from the Eumorfopoulos collection, and an exquisite belt-hook in the form of a white jade dragon surrounded by a coiled bronze hydra, inlaid in silver and gold, came from the Buckingham Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Some of the world's most notable jades were there, among the finest of them those from the collection of Oscar Raphael of London. One of these was a large recumbent buffalo, weighing about sixty-six pounds, and believed to have been carved in the Han Dynasty. In form it is very compact, retaining the shape of the boulder from which it was fashioned. Whether or not it is a Han piece, it has a fine pedigree, for an inscription on the base records that in 1422 the Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, took it to Peiping with him. It is a far cry from this massive, heavy, subtle animal to the ornate and often over-elaborated work of the Chi'en Lung period (1736-1795), of which perhaps too many examples were shown, though among them were some very fine pieces.

In table cases were the tomb jades, mostly small pieces of ceremonial type dating from the Chou Dynasty (1122—255 B. C.). These were very well represented and came from sources as far apart as China and America, for one of the finest examples, an intricate pierced pendant, came from the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. Many of the little pieces were pierced with tiny holes so that they could be sewed to garments, and long burial had often produced exquisite effects of color, patination and sheen.

Sculpture is very difficult to borrow for exhibition purposes on account of its weight and the many difficulties of packing and transportation, yet several noted pieces were there, the largest, and

PAINTED STUCCO FIGURE FROM ASTANA

Seventh Century A. D. Lent by the Government of India. (Stein Collection).

TWO WOMEN IN POTTERY

Six Dynasties (220-589 B. C.). Lent by H. R. H., The Crown Prince of Sweden.

STONEWARE DUCK

Glazed in light greyish-blue. K'ang-Hsi Period (1662-1722). Lent by Dr. Robert Von Klemperer, Berlin.

one of the best being a standing Amitabha, the Buddha of boundless light, over eighteen feet high. This colossal limestone figure stood in the central hall, calm, dignified, imposing. The sculptor had been able to infuse into its huge bulk a serenity and timelessness which made it definitely impressive. The Buddha was lent by C. T. Loo of Paris, who was very active in assisting the organizers of the exhibition, and contributed the rough hemp wall coverings which served as a charming background. Two of the finest sculptures came from the University of Pennsylvania Museum—one a huge stone slab carved in high relief with one of the battle chargers, "Autumn Dew," of the Emperor T'ai Tsung, who ruled from 627 to 649. The groom is shown removing an arrow from the docile little beast: it is great sculpture, solid, sincere, and well organized, and is perhaps the most famous slab outside of China. The other object is a life-sized seated Buddhist mystic (Lohan) in glazed pottery, but should really be considered as sculpture because of its plastic strength. Strangely enough the British Museum owns an equally fine Lohan, and possesses a first-class replica of the battle charger, but a curious law prevented their removal from the British Museum building, so at great expense the others were brought from America.

When human beings and animals are modeled in clay and baked it is extremely difficult to say whether they should be considered as pottery or sculpture. Perhaps only those which far transcend the routine performance of the potter's craft are entitled to be called sculpture. After all it is the dominating purpose rather than the material which should be the determining factor, and by these canons many of the small figurines of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907) and the immediately preceding period are truly sculptural. There were some charming small pottery figures which could not fail to remind classical scholars of the Tanagra figurines. Two little maidens, modeled in one piece, and only a few inches high came from the Crown Prince of Sweden, and were very popular with the visitors, but close competitors for honors were the decidedly matronly pair, only a little larger, which had come from Chicago, from the Potter Palmer Collection.

Some of the smaller sculptures might have been classified as bronzes, but their exquisite modeling and spirited, purposeful, exe-

cution raised them above the so-called minor arts. Among these were two magnificent gilt bronze altar groups, loaned by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of New York City. These, with her famous limestone statute of a Bodhisattva occupied one of the positions of honor, and a dry lacquer figure of a seated Lohan of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) can hardly be surpassed. While the large limestone figure was one of the most beautiful of all the sculptures it seemed less typically Chinese than the others, for in spite of its undoubted authenticity it seems in a class by itself, unrelated to its contemporaries.

Some of the most interesting things of all were loaned by the government of India and among them were some of the fruits of Sir Aurel Stein's excavations in Chinese Turkestan as well as earlier things from Lou-lan, a Han site. These constituted a really remarkable exposition of designs and weaves of the early centuries from Han to T'ang, and showed a great variety of technique from pile carpet through silk damask and formally figured silks and silk tissue. These were of course in fragments, often badly faded, but of extreme importance to serious students of textiles.

Among the Indian loans, easily understood and liked by everyone, were a sweet little maiden, a fichu crossed surplice-wise upon her breast, standing with bowed head and clasped hands in an attitude of shy simplicity, and another figure in a broad hat sitting astride a horse. These were in stucco, only a few inches tall, and highly colored. The little maid's skirt was striped vertically in dark red and blue, and her waist was cool green, her hair black, and her cheeks decidedly pink. The freshness and realism of these figures, over 1000 years old, made history a vital and living thing to the public, while the contemporary textile fragments appealed, of course, only to the specialists.

But some of the most interesting paintings, fragmentary too, alas, came also from the Indian Government. The remains of two silk friezes which originally must have represented court ladies and attendants in a garden, if we may hazard a guess from the relics, were astonishing in the directness of the painting, the brilliancy and clarity of the colors and the general air of sophistication. The salvaging and remounting of these fragments was a true triumph of the restorer's art in the best sense of the word for there was

STONEWARE PILLOW

Decorated in black on white slip. Tz'u Chou ware Sung Dynasty (960-1279). From the British Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection).

BRONZE WINE VESSEL (KUANG)

Cover with ladle; partitioned interior with inscription. Early Chou Dynasty (112-249 B. C.).
Lent by Oscar Raphael, London.

STONEWARE JAR

With relief decoration on a green glazed ground. Ming Dynasty (1568-1644). Loaned by the University of Oxford (Ashmolean Museum). This jar has long been in England for it was once owned by John Tradescant (d. 1627) and was presented to Elias Ashmole in 1657

no repainting, and indeed a foreign touch would have been immediately apparent.

The majority of the paintings came from the Chinese government and varied greatly in date, quality, and subject matter. Two superb paintings were scrolls on paper, one of herons, mandarin ducks, and lotus, bearing the dashing signature of the Emperor Hui Tsung (d. A D. 1135) that patron saint of Sung artists, and the other an autumn scene of deer in a forest, which I should not hesitate to place ahead of any other animal painting I have seen. If no other paintings than these had been shown China would have been worthily represented so far as quality is concerned. The majority of the earlier paintings have turned very dark from age, and were so installed that they were very difficult to see. The Chinese government sent many paintings of the Ming (1638-1644) and Ching (1644-1912) Dynasties well worthy of study, and more easily visible on account of better preservation, but the two paintings above referred to were in a class by themselves.

The Honolulu Academy of Arts sent a wonderful scroll in ink called the Hundred Geese, but it looked as if there must have been a thousand. Everything that geese know about themselves was revealed to the masterly painter of this splendid scroll. The Detroit Museum sent a fine scroll in colors on paper, of frogs on lotus leaves with dragonflies and other insects darting over their heads—a fine work of the Yüan Dynasty, called "Early Autumn." A beautiful landscape scroll in ink on silk and ascribed to Hsia Kuei of the Sung Dynasty was among the many noteworthy contributions of the Nelson Gallery of Kansas City.

Only a few paintings came from Japan, but they were among the best, the favorite perhaps being the ink painting of two sparrows on a bamboo spray by Mu Chi (thirteenth century) from the Nedzu Collection in Tokyo.

Perhaps we should mention here the meticulous copies of paintings in the silk tapestry weave (Ko'ssu) which the public could hardly believe were woven instead of painted. Many were fine in color and composition, and were excellent examples of what the Chinese can do as expert craftsmen. Certainly those loaned by the Chinese Government were finer than had been seen before by westerners.

PAINTING IN COLOR ON PAPER

Sung or Yuan Dynasty (14th Century?). Lent by the Government of the Soviet Union. The colors are very simple and pleasing; a plum-colored robe with red sash, and hands and face a flat, flesh-color.

SPARROWS AND RICE STALKS

Album painting on paper with traces of color. Signed Han Jo-cho. Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Lent by the German Stat Museums, Berlin.

SILK TAPESTRY (K'O SSU)

Lent by the Chinese Government. These meticulously woven panels were often copied from paintings with such keen regard for the form and color that they could easily be mistaken for true paintings. This ascribed to the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) but is probably later.

TWO HORSEMEN

A small painting in color on paper, probably 7th Century A. D. Lent by Musee du Louvre, Paris (Pelliot Collection). This is in astonishing preservation and a very lively thing.

From the point of view of the public it might be said that too large a proportion of the space was devoted to ceramic wares. But it must be remembered that China has always been distinguished for its preëminence in pottery and porcelain, and much more progress has been made in their study and classification than in any other of the branches of artistic expression. It was therefore possible to have a more completely representative showing of ceramics than of anything else, and it would have been a great mistake to curtail the space devoted to ceramics to any considerable degree. Yet even in this magnificent showing the earlier works were distinctly slighted. The emphasis was by no means even, nor were the different classifications as well represented as might have been the case. But thanks to the coöperation of the Chinese Government and the western collectors (principally English, and more principally Sir Percival David) a collection of Sung wares was shown that has never been dreamed of before and can probably never be duplicated. There were fine examples of Ting, Chün, celadon; rarest specimens of those two almost indistinguishable brothers, Ko and Kuan ware; and, it was fondly believed, typical examples of the finally isolated Ju ware (pronounced Ru). These appealed to the public at large by their sober beauty, but dazzled the collectors with their subtle charm and qualities perceptible only to the initiated. The display of Temmoku, or Chien ware was disappointing, for much finer pieces existed in London collections than were shown.

As hinted above it was in the field of Sung pottery that the astonishing quality of Sir Percival David's collection was so easily apparent. It was known that he had acquired some sixty-six Sung pieces formerly in the Imperial Collections as a nucleus for his collection a few years ago, but the quality throughout was exceptional, and he showed a number of rare types in superb examples.

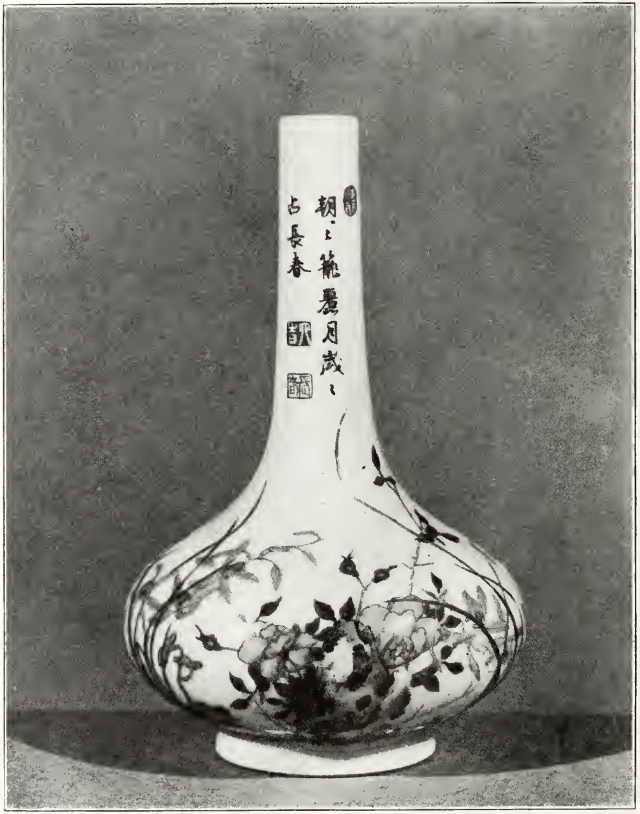
The English have been collecting Ming porcelains from the very time of the Ming Dynasty, and this exhibition brought many pieces from seclusion to join specimens of great rarity sent by the Chinese Government. Here Turkey collaborated to great effect, for in the fifteenth century the Turks had been keen purchasers of Chinese porcelains. The Topkapu Museum of Istanbul sent some fine specimens, particularly blues and whites of the Hsüan Te reign (1426-

PIGEON ON PEAR TREE

A painting on paper by Ch'ien Hsuan (1255-b. c. 1290). Lent by Kaichiro Nedzu, Tokyo.

A HERD OF DEER IN A FOREST

Detail of a painting in color on silk. Five Dynasties? (907-960). Lent by the Chinese Government. The drawing of the animals, only a few inches high, is masterly.



BOTTLE OF EGGSHELL PORCELAIN

Decorated in *famille rose* enamels. Ch'ien-Lung Period. Lent by Sir Percival David, Bt., London.

BLUE AND WHITE PORCELAIN VASE

15th Century A. D. Lent by the Topkapu Saray Museum, Istanbul. This was probably exported to Turkey shortly after its manufacture.

COVERED BOWL OF YELLOW CANTON ENAMEL

Decorated with pink blossoms. Ch'ien Lung Period (1736-1795). Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark, Iver Heath, Bucks, England.

1435). The fascinating history of blue and white porcelain could be traced in this exhibition as never before.

The variety of Ming wares which were exhibited was amazing. A brilliant Hsüan Te ruby red had more depth and richness than any of the K'ang Hi (1662-1722) oxbloods, of which the finest example came from the Morgan collection. This ruby red jug, glowing in color, was anything but beautiful in form and was credited with being made in the shape of a priest's hat. In reality it is an imperfectly understood copy of a European syrup jug, for the thumb-lever with which all users of steins are familiar was not attached to the movable lid, but appears, an exact copy in porcelain, attached firmly to the handle as a perfectly useless ornament. It is thus an extraordinarily interesting document, as are many other of the exhibits. It proves again that the Chinese have always been susceptible to outside influences.

In addition to the brilliant Ming reds and yellows and blues with foliated patterns, not common in America, and striking rather than subtle in design, were delicate cups and bowls of exquisite thinness and delicacy of color and decorative motif. One was impressed with the tremendous creative activity of an exuberant period.

There was some fine K'ang Hsi porcelain. Of the late wares the type known as Ku Yüeh Hsüan, painted with microscopic skill in enamel colors on thin white porcelain or white opaque glass, which was loaned by the Chinese Government, caused the greatest comment.

The exhibition was an outstanding success. Not only did it reflect the vast culture of China, but also appreciation of its high qualities by the nations of the world. Without international coöperation such a fine exhibit could never have been held. Europe seems to have the finest porcelains outside China, with American collections stronger in the earlier wares. The finest bronzes shown came from European, American, and Japanese collections. As for the paintings it is safe to say that very few in the European collections came up to the high standards of the best Japanese and American collections.

A MUSICAL ANTIQUE

BY ELLSWORTH BRAUN

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS are much in the public eye at present for political and commercial reasons. There are, however, other things of interest there—things to appeal to both the music lover and the antiquarian. Being an amateur of the two arts several ancient, but serviceable, pipe organs in Manila churches had aroused my interest. Inquiries as to their age, builders, and the location of others brought out startling information—information that set me on the road to Los Piñas in a hurry.

Some ten miles south of the old Walled City that is the center of Manila, is the small town of Los Piñas. Its people are interested only in the little effort required to live, love and die; none of them have the faintest idea that their village contains one of the world's greatest antiques.

I found the old stone church, like so many others in the Islands, in bad state, roof sagging and yard cluttered with weeds. The Filipino Padre received me kindly, but seemed unable to understand why I should care to see an organ so old as to be out of use, and built in such poverty that its pipes were made of bamboo. He concluded, however, that my form of lunacy was harmless, and with two *muchachos* escorted me to the gallery of the church. Were the rumors I had heard true?

I must admit that I had been skeptical up to that moment. It could hardly be that so delicate and complicated an instrument as a pipe organ could be built of bamboo, but seeing is believing, for there it stood with its front about twelve feet wide, all of bamboo-speaking pipes, the largest being eight feet long and nearly five inches in diameter. As I went on with my examination the wonder grew. The horizontal reeds are of soft metal, rolled very thick, but with the exception of these one hundred and twenty-two pipes, every pipe in the organ is made of bamboo. As there are seven hundred and fourteen pipes the unique character of the old instrument may be imagined.

The most surprising thing is to find an organ one hundred and

twenty-five years old with a five octave keyboard. The maker was eighty years ahead of his age. He placed a full octave of pedal notes below his one manual which has an 'F' scale. The upper keys were originally covered with bone, but have been stripped long ago. There are twenty-two stops arranged in two vertical rows, the names being written on a strip beside the knobs instead of on their faces.

One of the Filipino boys vigorously worked the handle of the old bellows, and I fingered the keys in an attempt to invoke the spirit of the eighteenth-century genius. The result was ghostly enough, I must say. The hoary old pipes began with one accord to weep and wail the dirge of their long dead master, and no howling dervish could have done better, or worse.

It has been long since the last Mass was played on the bamboo organ and the "cyphers" appear to have outvoted the rest of the box of whistles. The slides are stuck, and few of the stop knobs will draw. The action is a roller board and is in good order yet. Crude as is the workmanship, it stands, and if the chests were as good as the action and pipes it would be a good organ today.

Diego Cera was born in Spain in 1762 and early caused consternation in his little circle by showing an unholy interest in wheels and levers. A happy solution to Diego's waywardness was found, and he became a priest. Diego was also a musician and his mechanical bent led him to become an organ maker. In 1787 he became a priest and three years later a missionary to Mexico. From there he went to the Philippines where he served the church as priest and organ maker. The most interesting record of his skill is the bamboo organ at Los Piñas.

The old church is falling to pieces, but as the organ stands inside of and under one of the stone arches of the thick wall of the nave, it is thus partially protected from the weather. Many of the pipes are full of dirt and now speechless, but most of them are as good as the day they were finished in the seventeen hundreds. The old bamboo is as hard as iron and where not injured by rough handling is only the better for its long seasoning.

There is the inevitable "mixture" of five ranks on thirty notes in the treble organ, and it must have sounded queer when twenty of those squealing whistles were sounded in a (dis)chord. Like most old organs there is very little bass, and none of greater length than six foot stopped, and of course there were no string tones. The

two metal reeds afforded the only variety in the assortment of flutes of every size and pitch. The tones of single pipes, when taken out and tested separately, are excellent. It struck me that old Padre Diego Cera had, all unknowingly I am sure, discovered something that might have been worth further development. Why not make pipe organs of bamboo? The wood is strong, grows in exactly the right form for pipes—long, round, and hollow—perfectly tight and almost everlasting. Padre Diego should have been a Yankee.

The old priest made many organs and several examples of his skill are scattered over the Islands. The records of the Order of Recoletos show that Diego built two bamboo organs at the same time: one, the one at Los Piñas, and the other sent to Spain as a gift to the Queen who prized it highly, saying that there was none like it in Spain or England. In this her royal highness was certainly correct, and unless the twin in Spain is still "living" (as the Tagalogs say of a watch), this relic at Los Piñas is the only organ of its kind in all the world. For the seeker after the unique and interesting it stands among the things of first importance.

Fr. Diego Cera died at the age of seventy-two in the convent of San Sebastian in Manila, thus closing a picturesque and interesting life that is now forgotten except for the name on a musty page and the organs he built of narra and bamboo.

Men have immortalized their names in paint, ink and marble, but it was left for the good missionary Padre Diego Cera to build to himself a monument of bamboo.

BOOK NOTES

A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas. Volume I: *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity.* By Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, with supplementary essays by W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp. xv + 482.

The series inaugurated by the present volume aims to present the story "of man's reflection upon the general course of his own history and upon the value of those achievements of his which have been most distinctive of that history"; it aims, in other words, to set forth and to interpret the appraisals made by men (chiefly in the Occident) throughout the course of time both "of the historic process in general and of the predominant tendency which was manifested in it—the tendency which we call the progress of civilization." Following a penetrating discrimination between and classification of the principal types of such theories, this first volume turns to expressions of chronological primitivism found in Greek and Roman mythology and historiography and to a portrayal of the genesis of the conception of 'nature' as norm; attention is then given to the relevant doctrines of the cynics and Epicureans, of Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Cicero, and the Stoics; chapters are introduced on "Anti-Primitivism in Greek Literature: Eighth to First Centuries B.C.," "The Noble Savage in Antiquity," "Anti-Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in Later Classical Literature," and "The Superiority of Animals." The supplementary chapters deal with primitivism in ancient Western Asia and in Indian Literature. As the title of the series indicates, the views of the writers considered are presented through the citation of their own words, careful translations of which, however, are given for the benefit of those who require them. The nature and the scholarly qualities of the volume are such as to make it indispensable for those who are interested in the history of ideas and in the philosophy of history.

A College Logic: An Introduction to the Study of Argument and Proof. By Alburey Castell. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935. Pp. xi + 392.

This brief text signifies another of an increasing number of recent attempts to convert the study of logic into something at once attractive and useful. From the conception of it as the "art of discovery" and the formulation of "rules for arriving at new truths," logic is to be thoroughly weaned; "it is only by keeping men from going astray, by disabusing them when they think they have reached their destination, that logic helps men on the road to truth." Logic is primarily the study and analysis of argument; its main burden is the systematic exploration of the various errors and fallacies to which our thought is heir. Pursuant to this end only the irreducible minimum of expository matter is retained.

The Freedom of Man. By Arthur H. Compton. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935. Pp. xiii + 153.

The author is doubtless correct in his belief that "few in this age would willingly base their lives on a philosophy which to the man of science is demonstrably false." From this, however, we may by no means draw his conclusion that "science thus takes the place of the foundation on which the structure of our lives must be built if we wish that structure to be stable." The interest of this book lies in what its distinguished writer has to say about the significance of the concept of indeterminism for physics, and in the revelation he gives of his own religious and metaphysical credo. What he says concerning the *foundations* of the latter (over and above showing that modern science imposes no veto on it) must to philosophical minds seem in part naive and on the whole unconvincing.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Open Court Publishing Company announces with regret that the publication of the *Open Court* and the *Monist* will be temporarily discontinued. This issue, October, 1936 (Vol. 50, Number 939), of the *Open Court,* the July, 1936 (Vol. 46, Number 2) issue of the *Monist* are the final issues. We hope to resume publication later, perhaps in altered form with slightly altered emphasis, but with the same ideals for which both magazines stood.

The Open Court Publishing Company was founded in 1887 by Edward C. Hegeler of La Salle, Ill., for the purpose of establishing ethics and religion upon a scientific basis. It has formulated its aims differently at different times, but has always adhered to the same ideal of working out a religious reformation through the light that science affords. Without animositty to any of the established creeds of the world it stands for conservative progress based upon the most radical thought and fearless investigation. It holds that the established churches have their missions to perform, each in its way, but that it is highly desirable to raise their intellectual level to a higher plane and let the matured results of science enter into the fabric of religious convictions. Although this purpose has to a great extent been realized there is today perhaps even a greater need than formerly for tolerance of ideas and ideals and understanding between nations and races.

The Open Court Publishing Company has moved its offices to La Salle, Illinois, and will continue to publish books that directly or indirectly would advance its aims—books on Philosophy, which in contrast to the old metaphysicism lay the foundation of a philosophy of science; books on Mathematics and other lines of thought, indispensable for a rational and scientific world-conception; books that have a bearing on the doctrine of Evolution; and books on the History of Religion, especially the development of Christianity, including Higher Criticism; and books on Comparative Religion, on the Culture of the Orient, on Psychology, and on Ethics.

Both the *Open Court* and the *Monist* have published articles by foremost men of science and translations of articles of international significance in the history of culture. A limited supply of these back numbers are still available.